Routes to tour in Germany

The Green Coast Route

Tonder
Niebull
Bredstedt
Husum
Garding
Bad St Peter-Ording
Friedrichstadt
Heide
Meldorf
Itzehoe
Marne
Cuxhaven
Bremerhaven
Glückstadt
Stade
Wilhelmshaven
Westerstede
Leer
Oldenburg
Bremervörde
Nieuweschans
Osterholz-Scharmbeck
Bad Zwischenahn
Bremen

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Come and see for yourself the north-west of Germany. The Green Coast Route will be your guide.







1 Neuharlingersiel
2 A Frisian farmhouse in the Altes Land
3 Bremen
4 The North Sea







The German Tribune

Hamburg, 8 April 1984
Twenty-third year - No. 1128 - By air

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EEC shows it is still alive and kicking

DIE WELT

The European Community usually pulls off a success when virtually everyone has abandoned hope, and hopes were low after the second summit failure to reach agreement at Brussels in mid-March.

Then, in the early hours of 31 March, the 921st session of the Council of Agriculture Ministers arrived at an unexpected compromise on agricultural policy reform that was basically unanimous.

There may be no cause for jubilation, but the Common Market has again been shown to be capable of action even though its end is regularly said to be nigh.

It always seems to survive to the ritual accompaniment of wailing and gnashing of teeth. Those who are said to be about to die have a habit of living longer.

For the advocated of strict economic purity the compromise package agreed on in Brussels will not be considered a step forward.

The introduction of guarantee price thresholds for milk production entails a risk of yet more bureaucracy and cannot be said to be a step in the direction of free market economics.

The same misgivings will apply to the concessions granted to Ireland, which is to be entitled to continue producing as much milk as it can regardless whether there is a market for it.

But Brussels is not an ivory tower of economic theory. It is a place whether the representatives of 10 countries, soon to be 12, meet to reconcile their conflicting national interests.

Take Ireland. True, eight per cent of the emerald isle's GNP is earned from milk. True, the Irish had to bargain for all they were worth in Brussels for a written guarantee, which they were eventually given, that they would continue to be entitled to boost milk output.

True again, it is no shame on the EEC for the larger member-countries to come to the aid of a smaller one by going further than they ought to have done in the name of strict economic purity.

Basically, the Irish compromise does not jeopardise the fundamental objectives of a reform of Common Agricultural Policy. The cash benefit Dublin stands to derive is to small for that.

Besides, events would have taken a different turn if Britain's Margaret Thatcher had not scuppered the Brussels Eurosummit a fortnight earlier.

The Brussels breakdown was instrumental in making it possible to renegotiate the agricultural package, and the small fry's appetite was whetted by this windfall opportunity.

Ireland in particular put it to good use. A fortnight earlier this part of the compromise would have been possible at less expense.

The same was true of major reform in the shape of the Common Market's first-ever quotas on price guarantees for milk and a number of other farm products.

Fundamental critics are naturally right in arguing that this decision is unsatisfactory by any yardstick. Surplus output in the EEC has been fixed at a level that is roughly 11 million tons in excess of demand.

What is more, the change is to be enforced by dubious bureaucratic means and interventionist methods.

What matters more is that the limit to price guarantees for milk is said to mark the beginning of a turning point. If the EEC sticks to its course on this point in the years ahead, the effect will definitely not be lost.

And in spite of complaints about Brussels it must be borne in mind that 31 March 1984 is a watershed for the Community's long-term financial survival.

It may sound paradoxical to learn that the farm policy compromise the aim of which was to cut costs will initially entail billions in additional expenditure.

Yet had it not been for this compromise the Common Market would have been condemned to choke to death on an agricultural surfeit.

Last but not least, take the farm prices negotiated for 1984—85. They too run the risk of being ridiculed.

Just imagine what the position would have been if the Council of Ministers had been negotiating not on higher farm prices but on industrial wages with trade unions and employers.

That, after all, is what the EEC farm price talks amount to for many farmers. A wage agreement that entailed a cut would have been an unprecedented sensation.

No-one nowadays would even dare to consider anything of the kind (not, at any rate, on this side of the Atlantic).

Yet a miracle seems to have happened. For the first time in the history of the Common Market the prices paid for most farm produce are to be reduced — nominally even!

Realists will not be underrating the Brussels results. Bonn has as usual outdone itself and endorsed the farm price agreement in spite of its pledges to insist on keeping the Stuttgart package together.

The CAP agreement also included cuts in the agricultural offset levy, which for years has been a disputed issue, especially with France.

It would arguably have been nonsensical for the Germans of all people, who are the most keenly interested in EEC budget economies, were to have stymied them because agreement had not been reached on other Common Market reforms.

Other parts of the Stuttgart package include new policies, a new system of financing the Community and a fairer system of burden-sharing in the EEC.

There will, of course, be criticism of economies that initially entail higher expenditure. But that is part of the trouble with the small print that has always been part of the Treaty of Rome.

Basically, the situation that has now been reached is the status quo before the Brussels summit. All the immediate problems have now been solved except Britain's.

Ulrich Lüke
(Die Welt, 2 April 1984)



Chancellor Helmut Kohl (left) in Lisbon where he reassured Portuguese Prime Minister Mario Soares (right) of Bonn's support for Portugal's EEC membership bid.
(Photo: dpa)

How joining up will help Lisbon, Madrid

Kieler Nachrichten

Portugal is a poor country, but that is not the reason it is applying to join the EEC. It knows the fat years are over.

EEC membership for newcomers such as Portugal and Spain doesn't really fit the problems the Common Market is plagued by today.

But it is politically necessary and in the interest of all concerned, which is why Portugal is so self-assured. As a Nato member it has an important part to play on the pact's south-western flank.

After decades of dictatorship both Portugal and Spain could consolidate and strengthen their young democracies within a larger community.

Both can expect from EEC membership a tailwind to stabilise the parliamentary system and, if need be, outside pressure if they start to backslide.

In Bonn both have a loyal supporter whose main concern is to ensure the domestic consolidation of both countries and to surmount the historic and political barrier of the Pyrenees.

It should go without saying that economic problems that arise, especially in connection with other Mediterranean member-countries, will not be played down.

Yet given goodwill on the part of all

Continued on page 2

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Iraq's use of gas hands an ace to Iran

Would Talleyrand have warned President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, as he warned Napoleon: "Your highness, it is worse than a crime; it is a mistake."?

Denials by Baghdad are no longer much use now an impartial group of UN experts has found the Iraqi air force, after on-the-spot checks, to be waging chemical warfare.

Hitherto Iran's mullahs have been in the humanitarian dock for sending tens of thousands of fanatical children into battle, where they have been easy target practice for the Iraqis.

Iran is also in constant breach of the Geneva convention for maltreating over 50,000 prisoners of war and refusing the Red Cross permission to visit PoW camps.

The Iraqi government could hardly have led a better card, from the viewpoint of its hated enemy, than to spray the guardians of the Iranian revolution with poison gas.

Not even Hitler in his final despair dared to wage chemical warfare, banned by international agreement since 1925. Admittedly, he will have realised that the Allies would have given as good as they got.

President Saddam Hussein was bound to expect that the poorly equipped Iranian army would not be equipped with chemical weapons. Yet his stratagem backfired.

The relatively limited use of poison

Frankfurter Rundschau

gas has failed to swing the balance of the war in his favour to any great extent, whereas for Ayatollah Khomeini the propaganda effect has been fantastic.

Suddenly the UN was allowed unlimited access to Iran to unearth proof that Iranian accusations were justified. Yet the mullahs are much more tight-lipped when it comes to respecting human rights in their own country.

Tehran has even discovered something good about the vilified West, flying appallingly disfigured victims in to European hospitals for mass media coverage.

Baghdad is sure to come before the UN Security Council for this breach of international law. It may be condemned, depending on the five permanent members with the right of veto.

The two superpowers have so far taken a passive view of the Gulf War. There will be those for whom the war between Iran and Iraq is not inconvenient.

The United States confirmed some time ago that Iraq was waging chemical warfare. The Soviet Union has had nothing to say on the subject.

But directly or indirectly, both sides are being supplied with weapons.

What can have prompted the Iraqis to wage war with proscribed weapons? They must have known that only mass use of chemical weapons makes sense in military terms (if that is the appropriate phrase).

Some observers feel it was meant as a warning. The Iraqi President has said his patience is exhausted in the wake of constant Iranian offensives, but failed to explain just what he means.

Iraq's friends, including Saudi Arabia, fearing for their own safety, have urgently warned Baghdad not to destroy the Iranian oil terminals on Kharg island.

The UN commission of inquiry was unable to judge the extent to which Iraq had used poison gas. To judge by the number of victims the raids seem to have been deliberately small-scale and designed to have a demoralising effect.

The Iraqis were first imagined to be using mustard gas of their own manufacture, a weapon dating back to the First World War.

Baghdad has since been found to be using Tabun, a modern nerve gas that causes death in appalling pain in even the most infinitesimal doses.

Nerve gas is not part of the stock in trade of international arms dealers. So far only the Soviet Union has been felt to possess Tabun, confiscated from Wehrmacht stockpiles at the end of the Second World War.

The United States has concentrated on other organic phosphorus compounds.

So how has Iraq been able to come by Tabun and where do the grey boxes with a yellow ring and instructions in Spanish come from?

Military experts all over the world will now be checking to see which factory can have manufactured shells designed for use with a chemical payload and code-numbered BB 250 WP.

It may be too rash to imagine the bombs were originally manufactured by the Red Army for use by the Cubans. Arms buyers from Iraq and Iran deal with all manner of suppliers.

Many three-cornered arms deals are arranged via middle men in Switzerland, Greece, Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany.

It may turn out to be possible to buy nerve gas shells from international arms dealers. If it does, it would be a serious blow to the Geneva disarmament conference's talks on banning the manufacture and stockpiling of chemical weapons.

A fresh look would need to be taken at the 1970 nuclear non-proliferation treaty too. What good are such agreement when a party to them, and be it only one, does not abide by the rules?

Pierre Simonitsch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 March 1984)

East and West should talk, says Mitterrand

Later this year President Mitterrand of France is to visit Moscow. Four years ago, after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, his predecessor, M. Gisgard d'Estaing, travelled only as far as Warsaw to conference with Mr Brezhnev.

French foreign policy has since steered clear of summit meetings with Kremlin leaders, either because France has not been interested or the Soviet Union.

Before visiting Washington M. Mitterrand, who is felt by President Reagan to be a firm supporter of US policy toward Russia, outlined with signs of haste his plans to visit Moscow.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher also plans to visit the Soviet Union, while the German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, has already invited the new Soviet leader, Mr Chernenko, to visit Bonn.

M. Mitterrand has joined the ranks of European politicians, including Herr Kohl, who say President Reagan should meet the Soviet leader.

In a speech to the US Congress the French leader advocated a resumption of the East-West dialogue, but he may have offset the effect by the harshness of his criticism of US policy in Central America.

The parties at whom this good advice is directed, the US and Soviet governments, have reacted in a similar manner by preferring to seek a scapegoat for the deterioration in East-West ties rather than to seek means of improving them.

Pravda has taken a leaf out of Mr Reagan's book and termed the other superpower the incarnation of evil.

Mr Eagleburger, of the US State Department, has resorted to dubious Kremlinology to underpin his theory that for the time being there can be no question of talks with the Soviet leaders.

Yet there can be no doubt that the superpowers are both on the lookout for a meeting place at which to confer.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24 March 1984)

Need for return to spirit of Camp David

Five years ago, on 26 March 1979, President Sadat of Egypt, Prime Minister Begin of Israel and US President Carter announced details of the Camp David agreements at the White House in Washington.

They not only ended the 30-year-old state of war between Egypt and Israel but also were intended to pave the way for a solution to the Palestinian question and a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East.

Such great hopes were placed in what was undoubtedly a bold venture, and what is left of them today?

Some features of the Camp David accords have been fulfilled and, controversial though President Carter may have been in other respects, there can be no denying that agreement was reached by virtue of his untiring work as an intermediary.

Israel has withdrawn its armed forces from the Sinai peninsula and the erstwhile arch-enemies Israel and Egypt have exchanged ambassadors and established normal diplomatic relations.

They did so even though both had to pay a high price. Mr Begin had to prevail over unprecedented opposition in Israel, partly by using force.

The clashes between the Israeli army and Jewish settlers in Sinai are unlikely to have been forgotten. Mr Begin's previously unchallenged position in his own country was hard hit.

It may even have marked the beginning of the gradual end of his political career.

President Sadat was thrown into total isolation within the Arab world. He was condemned as a traitor. His country was expelled from the Arab League.

In Egypt there was a considerable increase in support for extremist funda-

Saarbrücker Zeitung

mentalist groups who were eventually to be responsible for assassinating Sadat.

Viewed in this light, President Sadat in the final analysis paid with his life for the courageous step the Camp David agreements represented.

Yet the separate peace agreement between Jerusalem and Cairo has proved remarkably stable. Relations were tense after the assassination of President Sadat, but they weren't broken off.

They survived President Mubarak's policy of reintegration in the Arab world and even the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, both of which must have been a tall order for the other side.

The fact that each was prepared to stomach them shows that the much-vaunted spirit of Camp David has survived, at least in this respect.

Hopes of a solution to the Palestinian question resulting from the principles laid down at Camp David have in contrast been dashed.

Differences that prevailed at the time the agreements were reached have been aggravated to such an extent that President Reagan has abandoned plans for self-government for Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under Israeli sovereignty.

In the Reagan Plan Washington proposed instead a confederation of the territories as a Palestinian state under Jordanian sovereignty.

But this idea has been strictly ruled out both in Israel and in most Arab states.

On this issue, which holds the key to any real peace in the Middle East, neither side seems willing at present to make the slightest compromise.

This is doubtless due to no small extent to the fighting in Lebanon. There is certainly no sign here of the spirit of Camp David, of readiness to compromise and for peace in the widest sense of the term.

Even Washington, as the withdrawal of US marines from Beirut seems to indicate, is no longer prepared to take on responsibilities in crisis areas that entail running risks. The consequences are already apparent.

Yet given the day-to-day bloodshed in the Middle East there is a more urgent need than ever for all concerned to recall the political and moral aspects of the Camp David spirit.

Fred Blum

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 28 March 1984)

Continued from page 1

concerned, these problems ought to be capable of solution.

That would certainly make them pale in significance in comparison with the objective of permanently incorporating Spain and Portugal in the network of Western democracies.

Wolf Ullmann

(Kieler Nachrichten, 30 March 1984)

The German Tribune

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Conservative relief, but tough campaigns lie ahead

There is a sense of relief in the conservative camp following the election in Baden-Württemberg, where Lothar Späth and the CDU managed to keep its absolute majority.

Although the majority was reduced, before the poll it was not even certain that the party could hold on.

The lustreless result is the first semi-success the Union parties have had in the midst of a row of severe setbacks.

Since the change of government in Bonn in 1982 the CDU and CSU have been successful only in the national election that confirmed them as the governing parties in Bonn.

The CDU suffered a disaster in Hamburg in December that jolted them out of their ambitions of forming the government there.

In Hesse the CDU took second place in the September elections and polled less than 40 per cent of the vote.

And the CSU, the Bavarian sister party was hard hit in the recent local elections.

The CDU can expect difficult times in a number of other federal state elections, in West Berlin, the Saar and North Rhine-Westphalia.

In all three states there is the tormenting doubt as to whether they have the right man at the top to fight the fight.

The controversial standard bearers, in West Berlin, Eberhard Diepgen; in the Saar, Werner Zeyer; and Bernhard Worms in North Rhine-Westphalia; have given rise to doubts as to whether the Union uses the best methods in selecting leaders in the states.

It is no argument to say that the CDU went into the Hesse election with one of its best men, Walter Wallmann, and lost nevertheless.

Most of the conservative local government defeats since the change of government in Bonn in 1982 have their sources to some extent but not entirely in national policies.

The policy that gives the most displeasure, because it affects many people, is the economy measures introduced.

But what inference should be drawn from this? Water down the policy for stabilising financial affairs? The pressure there is too strong. And that pressure comes in the main from the CDU's left wing, to some extent from state Prime Minister Späth, who can attribute his semi-success partly to his limited but nevertheless energetic opposition to Bonn's economy measures.

Family affairs policies are at the centre of the opposition and there are calls for correcting this policy. These are the classic fields for social policies and cannot be shunted off to the side lines.

The prime domestic policy aim of the new Coalition in Bonn was to boost the economy from whose profits alone social benefits can be paid for.

The government has pushed through its economy measures at the expense of social policy. After three years if the government were to present itself again to the electors it has nothing to show for its term in office,

Finances have not been consolidated the economy has not been given a boost and the social gifts shared out by the conservative parties under pressure were in the eyes of those who did the pressing inadequate.

The government does its best to remain true to its policies. When the parties present themselves to the electorate at the end of their four year term the acknowledgement of financial and economic success will probably be greater than the continuing vexation of taxation policies and social benefits meanness.

Lothar Späth was saved from greater election losses because he said that a little less should be saved than was being proposed. But that would cost Chancellor Kohl votes if he followed the same way.

Missiles in Western Europe was the second plank of the new coalition's programme.

This policy is being slowly realised. The Peace Movement that wanted to hinder the policy with force has lost its momentum even if the Greens, with whom this Movement is closely allied, attracts attention in Baden-Württemberg.

If the Peace Movement again mounts major campaigns against the policy the Bonn government has nothing to question or hesitate about. The government must stand firm by its defence policy.

The Union can answer for its position in judicial and interior policies with some boldness.

The FDP that would like to retain so many doubtful and damaging reforms of the previous social-liberal government finds that they have little acceptance and the Baden-Württemberg elections confirmed this.

Although they are in favour of the union between the CDU/CSU and the FDP few electors are for the radical-liberal exaggerations that took place between 1969 and 1982.

Those who approved these policies voted for the SPD or the Greens, or a

Frankfurter Allgemeine

left-liberal splinter group and FDP knights in shining armour will not deflect them.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher's FDP cannot behave as the left-liberal right political conscience of the Bonn coalition. The more the party ceases to do that the better for it.

A good year after the national election the conservatives see more clearly the limits of the possible. The CDU has less reason to hope of ever getting an absolute majority, so that the party can govern alone after the election results in Baden-Württemberg.

Franz Josef Strauss's idea that that the CDU and CSU can do without the FDP is an illusion. The Union and the FDP are made for each other.

This fact, however, does not mean that CSU politicians have to speak words of love about Genscher's party and people are not interested in this any way.

The Bonn government does not need disagreement about what happened in the past but agreement on what to do now.

Johann Georg Reißmüller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 March 1984)

Munich votes for SPD mayor in record turnout

Kieler Nachrichten

A Social Democrat has been elected mayor of Munich after a record poll. Georg Kronawitter won 58.3 per cent of the vote compared with the CSU candidate Erich Kiesl, who polled 41.7 per cent.

The turnout, 71.2 per cent, is the highest ever in Munich and compared with only 65.1 per cent in the first poll last month.

This second vote was needed because an absolute majority is required. Last time, Kronawitter won 48.2 per cent and Kiesl 44.3 per cent.

Kiesl is the outgoing mayor and Kronawitter was mayor from 1972 to 1978. After the city council elections last month, the SPD and the CSU both have 35 seats, the Greens 6 and the FDP 4.

So Munich will again be ruled by a Social Democratic government, not because of any furor by the Greens but because of the good will of citizens who stand in the middle of the political spectrum.

In a local election when the opposition polls almost an equal number of votes it is difficult to exclude its view entirely from future decision-making.

The two main parties now have an opportunity to show that they are willing to make compromises, and the major coalition that Franz Josef Strauss spoke of jokingly before the second ballot must now show that it can work.

Erich Kiesl has let it be known that a city council, in which a good 80 per cent of the councillors are middle or upper middle class needs to have Erich Kiesl as mayor, otherwise chaos will ensue.

Georg Kronawitter must win back confidence since he emphasised that he was predominantly concerned with the welfare of the little man.

SPD and CSU are of the same mind if they want to pursue policies for the benefit of the majority of citizens. They would be well advised to forget the slanging matches of the election campaign.

This lesson is moderation must be learned by both sides: by the radical left-wing Social Democrats who have reduced their party to electoral insignificance in recent years and that wing of the CSU which has, out of short-term tactical grounds, laughed up its sleeve at the SPD's electoral discomfiture.

Michael Lehner

(Kieler Nachrichten, 2 April 1984)

FDP document spells out policy principles

General-Anzeiger

According to the Free Democrats, the Federal Republic should be neither too far to the left nor too far to the right.

That is why the party has restricted its opposition to both conservative and socialist ideas in a programme of basic principles.

The document is devoted mainly to showing the voters how necessary the party is to government.

There are warnings about over taxing the welfare state and support for equal negotiating powers in pay disputes.

The document says that strikes and lockouts are legitimate forms of industrial action.

It is against proposals to make abortions more difficult and sticks to the view that the cost of an abortion should be refunded by the government.

The party is flexible over the question of shortening the working week, although the 35-hour week is not included in the FDP programme.

The Free Democrats basic principles are designed to demonstrate to the electors that the party is irreplacable. The party is not to be silenced. The party will not agree to preventing the children of guest workers from entering the country.

After the debacle in Baden-Württemberg, CDU party circles have overhead mutterings that the FDP intends to climb down a peg or two.

With Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann taking up the standard of environmental protection and Franz Josef Strauss, hardly an FDP fan, maintaining that the East German head of state, Erich Honecker, is a reliable partner for discussions, the ground held formerly by the FDP has been cut from under the party.

A reading of the basic principles the Free Democrats have produced gives the impression that the party found it easy to pursue a "contrasting" programme during its years in government with the SPD than it does now.

In contrast to the view taken by Chancellor Kohl politicians such as Strauss and Späth can imagine an administration that did not include the FDP.

Strauss who delights in every difficulty that befalls the FDP, is delighted to learn that SPD leader Hans-Jochen Vogel has been heard to say that "in an extreme situation" a coalition with the CDU is not entirely out of the question.

The SPD has not forgotten the FDP's backsliding when they were in coalition together. Strauss's longing for revenge dates from the *Spiegel Affair* in 1962 when the FDP played a considerable role in bringing about his downfall as Defence Minister.

Commenting on the results of the Baden-Württemberg elections the SPD national executive said that the Free Democrats were a danger for the continuance of the ruling coalition in Bonn.

The FDP is not represented now in six state parliaments and, in three out of five state parliaments, it is only the fourth strongest party.

The SPD remembers with some satisfaction that Chancellor Ludwig Erhard was toppled because he lost state elections. Hopes and reality are inextricably mixed here.

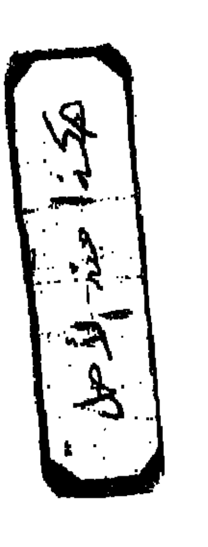
The FPD is out to still all talk of party ruin by a modern programme to give the party a solid image, needed after the political change in Bonn.

In a survey conducted in August 1981 in preparation for a change in the ruling coalition the FDP was assured that even at the side of the CDU the party would be able to attract a viable number of electors.

The evidence has not yet been presented. The new recipe for survival, basically the same as the Freiburg Principles, must firstly be tested by the electors at a forthcoming election.

Hermann Eich

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 28 March 1984)



■ GERMANY

Red-carpet farewell as reinstated General Kiessling retires

The climax of the grand tattoo marking the retirement of Bundeswehr general Günter Kiessling would a few weeks ago have been dismissed as a cabaret turn.

Defence Minister Manfred Wörner and General Kiessling stood side by side on a red carpet listening to the chorale *Ich bete an die Macht der Liebe*.

The chorale has been a highlight of the music played on special occasions in all German armies since 1838.

After the national anthem the general, who until the end of the month was the highest-ranking German officer and Deputy Saceur at Nato in Brussels, left the barracks in his staff car.

The ceremony was held at the Ernst Moritz Arndt Barracks in Neustadt, Hesse, at General Kiessling's request. He had served there as commanding officer of a tank battalion many years ago.

He left Defence Minister Wörner behind on the red carpet. Herr Wörner was



the man who had summarily dismissed and disgraced him just before Christmas.

He was retired early on 23 December with no official comment but to the accompaniment of rumours that he was a security risk.

He was reported to have frequented homosexual bars in Cologne, an accusation that failed to stand up to closer scrutiny.

There could be no doubt that the 27 March tattoo was General Kiessling's moment. He admitted to a feeling of satisfaction.

The farewell reception and grand tattoo were part of his rehabilitation, arguably the most important part, although he retained a sense of bitterness.

The four-star Bundeswehr general must continue to live with the memory that a major scandal in the armed forces is indelibly associated with his name.

He was the victim of an incompetent military counter-espionage agency and a Defence Minister who took an active part in the quest for dubious testimony instead of standing up for the accused man.

General Kiessling nonetheless leaves the Bundeswehr with a feeling of gratitude. *He says he has never for a moment* called the primacy of politics into question.

"Democracy may have its drawbacks, but they can be remedied in a process of self-cleansing."

The free Press, the courts and the parliamentary commission of inquiry set up to clarify the Kiessling Affair had contributed substantially toward his rehabilitation.

Confidence in democracy will not have been alone in helping him in his darkest hours. He also knew that officers and men of the Bundeswehr had never for a moment doubted his integrity.

He had returned to the ranks from which he had come, he said in Neustadt. Standing alongside the colours of his former battalion, he said: "I stand by my colours."

A few minutes earlier, as 400 invited guests made their way through the scrum of Press photographers to file past him and the Minister, it was clear how Kiessling had relished the occasion.

The first guests were reluctant to make the first move, so outnumbered may they have felt themselves to be by the throng of journalists.

But Kiessling beckoned them forward with both arms, and up they came, the unknown and the known, including former Defence Minister Hans Apel, Bundeswehr inspector-general Wolfgang Altenburg and Nato C-in-C Bernard Rogers from Brussels.

General Rogers is known not to have got on too well with Kiessling as his deputy at Nato, but Kiessling welcomed his wife with a peck on the cheek as the photographers' flashlights flashed.

Then came the leading members of the parliamentary commission of inquiry, prompting the comment that they might just as well have stayed to interview the Defence Minister again rather than repeat the process in Bonn three days later.

Everyone did their best to appear relaxed, but the atmosphere was tense. Herr Wörner in particular created an impression of distance and aloofness.

While General Kiessling cordially and in good humour welcomed old friends and acquaintances, the Defence Minister contented himself with formalities.

It was, after all, not a normal occasion, as was particularly apparent during Herr Wörner's speech.

"This," he said, "is not an easy moment for either of us, and it is not free from the possibility of being misinterpreted."

He went on to say what an outstanding career the general had had as a soldier and that he owed him many valuable suggestions.

The tattoo was not only a matter of tradition but also of the respect due to his distinguished service as an officer of the Bundeswehr.

He ended on a conciliatory note, saying: "You have suffered serious insult, which I deeply regret." Those who expected the Minister to express more than regret were again disappointed.

Hermann Frühauf

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 28 March 1984)

A happy ending for man who got a raw deal

Lübecker Nachrichten

It was a noble gesture of President Carstens to give General Kiessling a farewell reception.

The head of state has played his part in giving satisfaction to a man unfairly accused of being a security risk.

The general, who had been given a very raw deal, can be satisfied with the outcome of his struggle for rehabilitation.

Being received by the President was indeed an important part and final step in his bid to vindicate himself, as the general readily admitted.

One wonders whether he would have succeeded if he had only been an other rank or a minor civil servant and not a four-star general.

In this and other respects an unpleasant taste remains in the wake of what has been an extremely embarrassing affair.

The grand tattoo attended by Defence Minister Wörner and Nato's General Rogers to mark Kiessling's retirement will have given him satisfaction.

It will have been equally unsatisfactory from the viewpoint of Wörner and Rogers. But one can well understand General Kiessling ending his military career on a note of bitterness,

The affair is not over and forgotten by any means. The military counter-espionage agency, MAD, which was responsible for making the general's name headline news for weeks, needs a thorough shake-up,

The Defence Minister was misled by the agency's abysmal performance in the entire affair and has twice been interviewed by the commission of enquiry as a result.

So Herr Wörner has not heard the last of the affair either.

Werner Neumann

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 28 March 1984)



The end of a chapter. General Günter Kiessling (right) says goodbye to his former boss at Nato, General Bernard Rogers at a ceremony to mark the retirement of the reinstated Bundeswehr officer. In the background is Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner and Mrs Rogers is at General Rogers' side. (Photo: dpa)

Commission tries to get to the bottom of the affair

Frankfurter Neue Presse

The track record of the parliamentary commission of inquiry into the Kiessling Affair is impressive.

In 22 session totalling 96 hours 32 witnesses have been interviewed to shed light on an affair that shook the country.

It failed to unearth the whole truth but definitely showed up serious shortcomings in the work of the MAD, or military counter-espionage service.

The MAD has the doubtful distinction of having blown up civil servants' small talk into first suspicions, then a minuted mistake that left the entire country in a quandary.

The riddle has still not been solved. Fact and rumour are still poles apart, and the rumour-mongers at the MAD who started the ball rolling against General Kiessling have done precious little to get at the truth.

Two quotes may serve to illustrate the point. Alfred Biehle, the chairman of the commission, is otherwise a quiet and level-headed MP. He now says: "We are experiencing the change-over from a morass to a bottomless quagmire."

Other members of the commission are franker. "Witnesses are lying through their teeth," they say.

This criticism can only be echoed: the behaviour of the MAD cannot be condoned in any way, certainly not by dismissing the entire affair as a farce.

It is an intolerable state of affairs for the version of a report to the Defence Minister in which the head of the MAD changed an entry to have been disposed of at the agency's headquarters.

It was a copy in which he had used a green felt-tipped pen to change the word "police" into "state CID," or so his deputy said.

Only in retrospect have all concerned come to realise that this change gave the Kiessling dossier an entirely different character.

It is certainly a scandal that the agency inserted in the general's security file training material alleging without the slightest substantiation that he had homosexual inclinations.

The entire MAD needs going through man by man with a fine-toothed comb, replacing officers by civilians in positions of authority if need be.

The counter-espionage agency is not the only scapegoat in the Kiessling-Wörner Affair, but it does show what compliance with military red tape can lead.

It also shows how remorselessly an unknown individual could be ruined if he were caught in the cogs of the system.

Rosemary Callmann

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 27 March 1984)

■ RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Impossible position of Protestant church inside the GDR

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

A few years ago Christian belief and the Church figured only marginally, if at all, in Western publications on politics, modern living and problems in the GDR.

The only exception was when conditions in the Church were the immediate issue involved.

It was then mainly a matter of tension between the Christian church and the Communist state and, in this context, of relations between the churches in the two German states.

Times have changed with a vengeance, especially in books, films and newspaper articles about young people in the GDR, about environmental issues and, above all, about the peace debate in East Germany.

All now deal, at times primarily, with the part played by Christians in neighbouring East Germany and with what the Church says and does on issues.

Where the church itself is the issue involved, the Western media are showing increasing interest in its role in society.

Attention has been transferred from the relationship between church and state to the relationship between church and public, especially between church and nonconformist youth.

As a result there have been changes in the publicistic climate to which the Protestant Church in the GDR in particular is subjected by the Western media.

In the past, where it was mainly a matter of church-state relations and of safeguards for the "special community of Protestant Christians throughout Germany" of which the GDR authorities took a dim view, there was a natural basic solidarity of Western journalists with ecclesiastical institutions in the GDR.

More complex

Nowadays the viewpoint of Western reporters has grown more complex and less straightforward.

Younger journalists in the main feel particularly affected in respect of peace and environmental issues. Their attention and solidarity in East and West are with forces opposed to petrification of the political system on both sides.

That can lead to the Church in the GDR being considered part of the Establishment and viewed as critically as Party and state in the GDR in an atmosphere in which the Cold War seems to be on its way back.

The other is that the Church in the GDR tends to support an anti-Western peace movement, with the result that conservative Western publicists feel they must be on their guard.

The outcome is the same in both cases. The fund of goodwill that bishops or synods in the GDR used automatically to enjoy is on the decline, just as it has long been forfeited in the West.

One could also say that Western media have now fully taken into account the arrangement reached between church and state in the GDR on 6 March 1978.

The Protestant Church in the GDR is uniformly viewed as a church within the socialist system and no longer as a part of the Protestant Church in Germany as a whole that has been forced by political pressure to take on a separate guise.

The Church in East Germany is no longer regarded as representing "brothers and sisters" on the other side of the Iron Curtain and as a natural ally of the political and ecclesiastical Establishment in the West.

This change of publicistic climate is accompanied by the gradual decline of what used to be an automatic consideration by the Western media of possible repercussions on church-state relations in the East.

The Church is increasingly having to come to terms with a situation to which political leaders in the GDR have long been accustomed.

It is the fact that a great many people in the GDR set great store by the Western media, which form the basis of a parallel public opinion in the GDR over which the authorities have very little control.

This parallel public opinion is increasingly coming to be seen by the clergy in the GDR as alien, at times hostile, and often enough more troublesome than of assistance.

The clergy are finding it hard to come to terms with this state of affairs. Unlike the Party, the Church has no control over the GDR media; anything but!

It thus tends to feel constantly subjected to alien media influence and objects to always being the object, not the subject of publicity.

It rejects virtually all Western publicity and tries to withdraw into a kind of ecclesiastical cocoon of publicity in the GDR.

It fails to realise this is impossible in the political and media situation that prevails in Germany.

The change in outlook of the Western media toward the Church in the GDR has been deliberately exaggerated. It is not yet characteristic of the overall outlook.

But there has undoubtedly been keener interest in a GDR Church that is active as a social force in which people who think about change get together.

This is particularly the case when the Western reader is informed that the overriding consideration is not political opposition but theological reflection and preaching of the gospel.

GDR citizens sometimes question the motives of this journalistic interest. They suspect it of basically amounting to intervention in GDR domestic affairs along the lines of traditional Bonn Deutschlandpolitik.

They are so fixated on their own problems that they (or at least some of them) find it hard to admit that peace and all it entails is not an issue to which the GDR or GDR churches have any special claim.

It is one on which people in the West, especially active Christians, are equally committed in their views.

Journalists in the Federal Republic are not alone in having changed their interests. So have readers, listeners and viewers.

Christians in the GDR are viewed less and less by many in the West as disadvantaged "brothers and sisters." They are seen as partners in a debate that transcends frontiers.

New forms of solidarity have taken shape and, by the same token, fresh opportunities of using the Church and Christians in the GDR for Western ends, such as gaining acceptance of views in church and society in the West.

Many people in the GDR have yet to appreciate the change. Until a few years ago discrimination against Christians in the GDR and the clash between church and state was put to use by conservative politicians in the Federal Republic. But those days are almost over.

The Brüsewitz Centre, named after an East German clergyman who committed suicide by setting light to himself in protest against discrimination of the Church in the GDR, seems to be on its last legs.

The peace movement in the West last year proved quick to capitalise on the sword to ploughshares movement among Christians in the GDR.

Official Church statements and declarations in the GDR have also been misused for publicity purposes in campaigns within the Protestant Church in the West.

Young people in the West, and naturally younger journalists, have been particularly keen on the GDR and the Church, seeing the issue as a new reality and at times underestimating the mechanics of the East-West clash.

They accept in a manner that is little short of naive what they feel is credible activity on a Christian's part. They are on the lookout for points on which they can cooperate and note the concern they too feel on specific issues.

Representatives of the Church and public life are gaining a new crredibility and providing points on which the young can identify with their elders.

This applies to a number of churchmen in the GDR. It also applies to Richard von Weizsäcker, who as a leading West German Protestant layman attended the Luther celebrations in Wittenberg, GDR.

He outlined the problems and objectives shared by Germans on both sides of the border, sharing as they do a common language, cuture and responsibility for German history.

Motives questioned

They include the environment and peace, neither of which can be protected and preserved by any one individual.

They include the war on want and the furthering of justice in the world as a responsibility shared by industrial societies in East and West.

"In our families and communities," he continued, "many difficultes are not as different as is often believed.

"Young people here and in the Federal Republic at times isolate themselves or take arms against what they feel in us older people is incredible or a lack of responsibility toward the future.

"Their elders in both countries must stand up and be counted. They mustn't dream; they must think and differentiate, carefully account for what they do, and behave responsibly."

Reinhard Henkys

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 1 April 1984)

Senior minister warns about 'false glitter' of West

A senior East German Protestant churchman, Manfred Stolpe, has warned that the church in both German states must take steps to remove any delusions of glitter people might have about life in the West. He was addressing a meeting of the Protestant Academy in Tutzing, Bavaria.

It would be completely misunderstanding what GDR Protestant Church official Manfred Stolpe said in Tutzing to take him to have advocated unlimited issue of exit permits to the West for East German dissidents.

What he meant to say was just the opposite. If the GDR authorities were only a little more generous in issuing permits for East Germans to visit the West, more would want to stay in the GDR.

There is certainly something in that. Material hardship is not normally what prompts GDR citizens to apply for exit permits or try to escape to the West.

In most cases what motivates them is the desire to exercise freedoms that don't exist in the East, including the freedom to visit the Federal Republic.

The drawback is that the GDR has so far been prepared to discuss any issue other than a reduction in the age at which pensioners are allowed to visit the West.

There may be a variety of reasons for this, but the main one is that the GDR authorities cannot imagine that fewer GDR citizens would choose the stay in the West if the age limit was lowered.

The difference between the present increase in the number of people issued permits to resettle in the West and a general lowering of the age limit for travel to the West is that the East German authorities can still pick and choose who they want to get rid of and shut the escape valve whenever they want.

Stolpe's comments to the Protestant Academy in Tutzing, Bavaria, shows what difficulty the Church in the GDR

Süddeutsche Zeitung

has in helping its members to integrate in a system many of them reject.

The clergy can only lend a hand once someone approaches them for advice and assistance. It is then usually too late.

The basic problem is probably that in spite of having gained increasing recognition the churches are still viewed by a number of GDR citizens as part of the state.

These groups are largely beyond the reach of pastoral activity, yet they are the ones who take their problems with them when they resettle in the Federal Republic.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 26 March 1984)

■ THE WELFARE STATE

Widows stand to come off second best on pensions

Will she be able to feed the birds?

(Photo: Poss)

Far-reaching alterations to widow and widower pensions are being discussed. No matter what is decided women will be harder hit than men.

If plans become law by 1985 a woman who loses her husband after that date will be worse off.

Stress of this kind has to be borne by everyone, but it is particularly hard for old people and the law takes no account of that. The law will safeguard their rights but those rights are bound to be reduced.

Basic Law lays down equality for widows and widowers but the measures that are being considered will, because of the financial shortage of the pension insurance fund, not be able to cost any more.

In other circumstances it would be unwise to touch widows pensions. It was at first welcomed in the last decade or so that more and more women went out to work, trained for a job or a profession and went back to work when the children were grown up enough to permit this.

And of course these women expected to get a pension from this, for which they accepted responsibilities and made sacrifices.

Higher contributions have led to the idea that when a woman's pension exceeds DM900 a month that 40 per cent of the excess should be deducted from her widow's pension. The savings will make it possible to introduce pensions for widowers too.

So the more successful a woman is in her working life the more she will be working against her own pension interests.

The position is even less satisfactory when after the pension reforms of 1972, a married couple agreed to make use of the new time-limit legislation for the post-payment of premiums. With this arrangement it was possible for a women, still regarded as "only a housewife" and mother to build up her own independent old-age pension entitlement or to improve the qualifying period.

One husband said: "Now there are no presents for a birthday or Christmas instead we have to pay for her pension."

Time alone will tell just how reduced the widow's pension will be due to the changes to be made to the woman's pension. Those who have enough ready cash and can at the same time put in an application for a pension will have nothing to worry about.

But when it comes to widows a certain amount of political sensitiveness is appropriate. What this actually implies in social security terms has not been explained.

A widow's pension is paid in the first instance only when the breadwinner is killed at work. The employee is liable for reparation.

Disability insurance, on the other hand, pays out for the first ten years a (modest) pension only to those widows who are unable to go out to work and earn a salary.

Surviving dependents' insurance for salaried employees and mineworkers assumes invaldity and the pension is higher.

Since 1949 workers' wives have been given pensions without any conditions attached. Then a new category was added — war widows.

Including their children more than two million persons are entitled to pensions. A woman under 40 and without children receives 20 marks besides 40 marks per month and 10 marks for a fatherless child.

The warning from social reformers that the orphan problem should be solved and solved liberally dies away unheard.

Many widows' pensions as a basic pension are paid out of social insurances. The widow's house-keeping budget was used as a typical case for pension accumulation. But this does not imply in any way that the welfare state guarantees the average living standards of a normal family.

Konrad Adenauer won an absolute majority for his party via the first pension reform of 1957. With the second pension reform of 1972 the response was not quite the same: the CDU/CSU did not regain power.

And this is a warning — the political advantages to be gained from questions

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involving pensions, particularly when they affect in the main women, can never be estimated very accurately.

And there is always bound to be disagreement in the coalition when matters concerning civil service or supplementary benefits are being figured out.

It should be understood that it does not matter particularly if the free allowance is increased the next time there are financial difficulties the pension insurance fund will be in danger.

Finally new regulations involving widows should take a look at the question of whether widows are in a position to pay for a place in an old people's home with the pensions they receive.

Albert Müller

(Die Welt, 26 March 1984)

Number getting benefits up 8 per cent

The number of people receiving social security benefits rose considerably at the beginning of the 1980s.

According to the Federal Statistics Office in Wiesbaden 2.3 million people were being paid social security benefits in 1982, an increase of 8.2 per cent over the 1980 figure.

In this period the number of West Germans who needed social security rose seven per cent and the number of foreigners, on average about a quarter, increased by 204,000.

The costs for social security assistance, borne in the main by local government, have increased something like five times since 1970 to almost 16 billion marks in 1982.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The increase in the number of Germans claiming social security assistance began in 1977. Before that there had been a constant drop in those putting in for assistance.

Then increasing unemployment played a considerable role in pushing up the figure, and the average period of unemployment increased. This meant that many who were unemployed longer than the statutory period during which unemployment payments are made had to turn to social security for assistance.

On the other hand the number of foreigners who received social security assistance who were given assistance from the social security office has for many years shown a sharp decline.

In the period 1979 to 1980 the figure more than doubled, but in the period from 1980 to 1982 it was only increased a quarter to 204,000. Since the beginning of the 1970s the number has increased more than tenfold.

There are a whole range of differences in the makeup of the statistics concerning those who receive social security assistance. It is mainly the German women who claim for the assistance, but among foreigners it is the men.

Most of the Germans who apply for assistance are elderly people. Among foreigners it is predominantly people of working age as well as children.

About four-fifths of the foreigners who get social security do so regularly but only about three-fifths of the Germans do.

In West Germany at the beginning of the 1960s there were hardly any foreigners without work. The number has since risen to 304,000.

Fifteen per cent of foreign workers are without a job, well over the average of ten per cent. And foreigners make up 12 per cent of the total jobless, although foreigners make up only 7.4 per cent of the population.

In certain major cities, where there is a heavy concentration of foreigners the percentage is considerably higher. In Frankfurt, for example, 35 per cent of the unemployed are foreigners and in Stuttgart 31 per cent.

The Labour Exchange in Munich reports that 27 per cent of the unemployed are foreigners, 25 per cent in Offenbach, 23 per cent in Cologne and 21 per cent in Mannheim.

The Kiel-based Institute for International Economic Affairs said in a recently published study entitled 'Labour Market Tendencies and their Effects on Youth Crime' that the chances of young foreigners getting a job in West Germany was fairly remote for the foreseeable future. As a consequence the number of foreigners claiming social security assistance would in a very short time double.

This 'social time bomb' is already having its effects on police statistics for crime. Compared with Germans of the same age group the average number of foreigners convicted of crimes of all kinds is almost double.

Murder, grievous bodily harm, rape and forgery of documents involve young foreigners four to five times more often than young Germans.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 March 1984)

Social Democrats take long, hard look at social system

Political parties' know from experience that government responsibility easily leads to a policy of doing nothing. It is a virtue of the state to stick to statements once made.

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No longer inhibited by being a ruling party the SPD, according to its published "social policy programme" has made a fresh and critical examination of the need to improve social insurance and has had a look at the principles behind social insurance thinking and has come up with more than the social basic guidelines of the 1970s.

The main idea behind the look at the welfare state's future is how to break down bureaucratic rigidity, inherent in the social system, and institutionalised political thinking.

This requires a critical backward glance at the old social ideals, which means taking a long look not at the system but at individual needs and taking them more earnestly.

Finally the social system as it is now has been brought into question and the retrenchment of the social system happening now has its beginnings in SPD thinking.

Within the party the provisional report has been taken as a position paper rather than a manual for future courses of action, despite the attitude taken in the report to various daily problems.

It is obvious that the paper is not so much a political analysis for the benefit of the conservative government that rules in Bonn at the present but an answer to the challenge posed by the Greens.

SPD supporters will be able to watch with interest if the party can take up an alien position on tactical grounds.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 March 1984)

■ FINANCE

The anatomy of a party's economic principles

A day before CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler put forward the Stuttgart Principles, new guidelines for economic policy, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation organised an economic affairs forum in Bad Godesberg to reconsider the Düsseldorf Principles of 1949. It was an accident that the two events occurred at the same time, although there were connections between the two.

Basic principles for the operation of the free market economy were laid down by the CDU for the first time 35 years ago at the time of the Ahlen Programme. The idea was to give substance to Ludwig Erhard's vague economic ideas.

The view today is that in Düsseldorf then this was achieved successfully. But the CDU is today in danger of pushing these basic principles into the background.

As Herr Geissler said the party does not need a new programme. That is true. But the party must have enough spine to ensure that by splitting things up so much economic clarity is not lost in the process.

Never before has the party been in such an advantageous position as now to come out with a clear statement of economic policy. Indications of this are that at the Bad Godesberg economic affairs forum Labour Minister Norbert Blüm, who is on the left wing of the party and comes from the social affairs committee and is currently its chairman, considered the position as it was then and as it is today.

A few years ago an economic affairs forum of this kind was inconceivable. For decades the social affairs committee has had a virulent distrust of a free market economy and this has often upset the uniformity of the CDU's economic affairs policies.

Norbert Blüm has reconciled Christian Socialist teaching, the basic principles that have governed the social affairs committee, with the liberal thinking from which the CDU has borrowed so much in its economic affairs policies.

An indication of this union is that the social affairs committee has accepted the competition principle as being an effective instrument in the economy to ensure a free market and prices.

But for Norbert Blüm, with his social affairs committee background, this competition is of especial importance since it can hamper or check positions of power that can threaten freedom. But what is more important the free market economy is the only system that includes the subsidiary principle, a basic of CDU trade union policy, and allows it to work.

Seen from this point of view the free market economy, as it was discussed at the economic affairs forum, is not an economic discipline but an example of the makeup of a free society, pure and simple.

Blüm does not primarily see the moral quality of this economic setup that has its origins in the Freiburg School of the 1940s formulated in opposition to an authoritarian system.

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This background is useful when considering the Düsseldorf Principles. It is often forgotten that in 1949 economic thinking was allied to social-political principles.

At the economic affairs forum this text was quoted: "The basics of a healthy social regime are a sucessful economy."

A decisive yes was given to the question so often asked in the past whether the creation of a free economic order was not the act of a social-political organisation.

Thirty-five years ago the CDU knew that "the best social policy was worthless when economic and social policies were not mutually extended and advanced."

If a party has proclaimed economic principles that it maintains hold good today, the party must itself judge how just these principles have been.

Fritz Hellwig, one of the few still alive who participated in drawing up the Düsseldorf Principles has recognised with hindsight that a free market economy cannot really be achieved. Market economy policy should now take on the task not only of progressing but to prevail against disintegrating elements that have noticeably increased in force.

There are many examples that were discussed at the Bad Godesberg forum. Professors Hamm and Starbatty named health and electricity as two areas in which market economy principles could ensure better services. A long list of subvention sinners was compiled.

Hans Tietmeyer, state secretary at the Finance Ministry said: "We do many things that we ought not to do." The full meaning of basic principles must be that old errors are corrected and new ones avoided.

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation event, with such a background, was a kind of subliminal criticism of the Stuttgart Principles that were submitted a day later. The views expressed at the forum gave the impression that the secretary-general was riding roughshod over the party's economic affairs committee. It would have been better to have had at the forum a brief paper in which it was much more clearly expressed that future tasks would be seen together with old and new policy principles.

Trade union secretary Henschel, who took part in the Bad Godesberg discussions, made it clear just how important how important it was to clarify basic principles.

Many of his colleagues saw in the word "social" a camouflage for the freebooting character of the free market economy, as the sheep's clothing that concealed the wolf. Programmes could not, however, deal with innocent or malevolent distrust.

The CDU could profit from remembering, when recalling the "principles" on 35 years ago, that they were basics and put their stamp on economic thought. Old economic hand Fritz Hellwig made the comment in Bad Godesberg that in 1949 the CDU then did not have an original economic programme. The Party appropriated Ludwig Erhard's ideas and came out of it well.

Multifarious programme commissions can formulate compromises out of a variety of opinions and write them into a programme. But they cannot replace the originators of the ideas. That is the difference between the principles of Düsseldorf and those of Stuttgart.

Ernst Günter Vetter

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 March 1984)

New economic policy ideas have been announced by the national executive of the SPD. This follows similar announcements by the CDU.

SPD policy for the age of technology

The two major political parties in the country want to face up to technological changes and the challenges that the labour market will present.

Points dealt with include the modernisation of economic policy and revised industrial structures to meet new conditions, as well as answering the question as to whether there would be enough jobs available for everyone.

The SPD document included an unequivocal acknowledgement of the free market economy system — in contrast to that proposed by the party's left. It was clear that a majority were prepared to learn from mistakes made in the past.

During many years in government the Social Democrats minimised the effects of the increases, by leaps and starts, of government spending. At last the importance of consolidating government spending is to be stressed, even if it means cutbacks.

Unemployment, the second painful inheritance from Social Democratic government, is to be combatted by a double strategy.

West Germany, according to the policy paper, cannot afford to ignore rationalisation and modernisation if present jobs are to be made secure and new jobs created.

There is no discussion that could be interpreted as being anti-technology. Although the limitation of the time worked — the 35-hour week — is presented as a course of action open to increase jobs, that is only a viable course of action when costs are kept absolutely neutral.

The SPD national executive has not come up with a great sketch for the economy. But if approved by the parliamentary party, it would mean however that the party had come closer to having viable alternative policies.

But the programme's value can only be measured in practice when it is seen what it can achieve and not what it is hoped it will achieve. Only then will it be possible to assess what is really meant by the state's endeavours to combat unemployment.

It is not worth producing a new edition of the publication that relies on enormous public borrowing and extensive job-creation programmes that cost much and achieve little.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 22 March 1984)

■ EXHIBITIONS

A belated art nouveau pat on the back

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Many Munich artists hold pride of place among the internationally reputed Jugendstil stars. Bavarian arts and crafts are by no means alone in owing a debt of gratitude to architects and designers such as Obrist, Endell, Riemerschmid and Paul.

Yet they have yet to be given sufficient recognition in their native city. The Bayerisches Nationalmuseum made a major purchase last September to be able to put the record straight.

It bought 200 items — furniture, jewellery, objets d'art and glass — from the Jugendstil collection of art historian Siegfried Wichmann for DM1.6m.

The Nationalmuseum had previously limited itself to art and artists before 1800. It was the first time it showed an interest in more recent art.

Jugendstil floral funktional is the title of an exhibition arranged to do this event justice. It constists about two thirds of work on loan.

The aim is to show the new purchases against the background of international expressions of Jugendstil, or art nouveau.

It features work by over 50 artists and workshops from Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Britain, Holland and Scandinavia.

The large number of objects on show testifies to a wide and surprising range of style. Seldom has the juxtaposition of ornamental, playful work and clearly designed, functional form been more readily apparent.

What Josef Hoffmann and Kolo Moser did at the turn of the century in Vienna seems at first glance to have little in common with the work of Obrist, Endell, Lalique or Tiffany.

The one style gives absolute priority to clear and functional form, the other prefers plant-like growths full of strange movement, indentations and protrusions.

Hoffmann used die-stamped sheet metal for his flower containers and fruit bowls, chocolate boxes and storm lanterns.

His French and British counterparts used iridescent lacquers, shining semi-precious stones and precious metals.

While the Viennese set store by cubes, hexagons and squares, the Munich school gave preference to spiral and wave-shaped lines.

Siegfried Wichmann now tries to show, in a catalogue weighing pounds that is less an exhibition catalogue than a book, that floral, functional and constructive aspects of Jugendstil were based on the same sources and considerations.

He makes great play with Ernst Haeckel's 10-volume *Kunstformen der Natur* (Art Forms in Nature), published between 1899 and 1904.

It was a lavishly illustrated work aimed at a general public. Its stated intention was "to open to a wider, educated public access to the wonderful treasures of beauty hidden away at the bottom of the sea."

Wichmann says Haeckel's work was the basis of the entire school. Obrist and Endell were certainly acquainted with it. It demonstrably influenced their work.

It advocated functional aesthetics. Any decorative form that occurred in nature was at the same time meaningful; any decorative organ also fulfilled a function, or so Haeckel and his contemporaries felt.

But it is probable going too far to infer, as Wichmann tries to do, that the ornamental turn-of-the-century style was as a rule intended to be functional.

Take the delicate glass work decorated with threads of glass by Tiffany. Take the overflowing ornamental look of the work of Pankok and Endell.

Take the lamps by Nacy and Majorelle in France that give a light designed to resemble that given by aquariums.

All the items tell a tale of delight in the bizarre inventions of nature. Flora and fauna are regarded as artists to be outdone.

It was not their functional but their aesthetic aspects that fascinated most Jugendstil designers.

In this respect they differed from predecessors who for centuries had concentrated less on the aesthetic than on the constructive principle in nature.



René Jules Lalique's enamel brooch, 'Moth', 1902

(Photo: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum)

Wichmann's conclusions on the work of the Viennese workshops, including their major representatives Moser and Hoffmann, do not entirely hold water either.

Describing as homogeneous the aims and objectives of an era so rich in different and often contradictory approaches as the turn of the century is not to do it justice.

The anachronistic and futuristic co-existed. Floral and functional features both complemented each other and ri-ed each other out.

Following generations were left to take up what they felt was capable of development. The Munich exhibition provides an opportunity of reappraising the decisions reached at the time.

What was deemed relevant in the Bauhaus-dominated 1920s can appear totally superfluous in our own post-modern era.

Katharina Hegewisch

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 March 1984)

Düsseldorf antiques fair welcomes the virus

The Wils brothers' hanging clock from Geneva is nearly 200 years old yet still chimes to a solemn rhythm. An 1830 Austrian picture clock hangs alongside it at the Peter Heuer Gallery's stand.

The clockwork runs a small stream of silver wire where painted washerwomen go about their day's work. These are two exhibits at the West German Art Fair in Düsseldorf.

It takes us back to another era when everyday life seems to have been less hectic. The hustle and bustle of our own day seem to have been banned from the large exhibition hall.

The definition of antiques rules out the more recent and still controversial styles at Düsseldorf, where the fair was held for the 15th time.

Günther Abels, chairman of the Rhenish Art Dealers' Association, reviews progress. In 1970, he says, the association felt there was a need to offer art dealers in North Rhine-Westphalia an opportunity of displaying their wares.

North Rhine-Westphalia is the most populous state in the Federal Republic of Germany and there was a growing interest in buying works of art.

Besides, international attention was concentrated on contemporary art. Düsseldorf was to redress the balance and concentrate on older work.

The idea has proved a success. The number of exhibitors may have declined marginally in recent years, partly because the length of the exhibition was cut in 1982, but it has retained its attraction for both dealers and the public.

This year there were 158 exhibitors on the over 13,000 square metres of floor space in Hall 13. After lean years they were back in the fray and full of confidence.

The market, it was said, had staged a recovery. People were perceptibly readier to invest in art. Some dealers were bombarded with enquiries as soon as they published catalogues indicating they were going to be at Düsseldorf.

But it is not just a matter of economic trends. "It's like a virus," says dealer Evgret von Bary. "Either everyone is buying or no-one is."

Her prize exhibit was an 1840 vase featuring the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin. It was priced at DM45,000. It was a gift from Queen Elisabeth of Prussia to her nephew.

A medium-sized stand costs DM6,000 at Düsseldorf. It is an investment that must pay dividends or it cannot be repeated. Yet there is no price-rigging among exhibitors, Herr Abels says.

What makes Düsseldorf so attractive is that visitors can do comparison shopping and check what is on offer without committing themselves one way or the other.

Dealers are delighted when museums buy their goods, but private collectors remain the main customers. The association would like to see wealth tax regulations amended to make it easier to buy art old and new.

Collectors and art-lovers who have no choice but just to look on and admire what is on show have a virtually inexhaustible range to see.

The oldest work on show was probably an Attic vase dating back to the 5th century BC. Old china from virtually every era was on exhibit.

But few china items will have been as delightful as the indiscreet Harlequin from Meissen who takes the opportunity of an exchange of caresses between lovers to lift the young girl's skirt.

The Röbbig Gallery priced this 17[illegible] Meissen china figurine at DM110,000. It competed with old carpets, books and arms for custom and interest.

Lovers of art from outside Europe will have been thrilled by valuable exhibits shown by the Simonis Gallery such as a male ancestral figure from the Luba-Hemba tribe in what is now Zaire priced at DM36,000.

But the emphasis is, as ever, on painting and furniture. One particularly [illegible] exhibit was a landscape painted by [illegible] Brueghel the Elder and Joos Momper. In the 16th century joint efforts were no exception.

Brueghel the Younger's [illegible] was on sale at DM180,000. Art-lovers with less to spend will have found plenty to interest them in 19th century German art and Dutch Romantic paintings.

The exhibitors at Düsseldorf may set store by quality but they make sure items are also available at prices people can afford to pay.

But items in this range don't make headlines like the Nolde watercolour [illegible] sale by the Ludendorff Gallery for DM119,000.

Yet the expensive paintings are soon snapped up. Dealers are currently having greater difficulty in finding work than in selling it. Fine paintings are growing perceptibly scarcer.

A wide range of furniture may be available but seldom are so many first-rate items on show as the Bernheimer Gallery gets together.

This year they included a roller-top bureau with cube-shaped inlay work and bowed legs the Louis XV era or a rose-wood veneer desk from the same period.

Both are incomparable in their way as though the era was concentrated in them. But they can be an expensive pleasure. A 1755 French commode cost DM500,000.

Stephan Schmidt-Wulffen

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 March 1984)

■ THE CINEMA

Schlöndorff rises to take on a French challenge

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Should we criticise and find fault with Volker Schlöndorff's pert, boyish prank, his film adaptation of Marcel Proust's *À la Recherche du Temps Perdu*, one of the most famous and at the same time complicated works in French literature, when it has been received with favour and friendly respect in France?

How easy it is to reach for the saying: A prophet is not without honour save in his own country!

Rather let us recall that Schlöndorff is one of our directors most ready to take a risk. He transposed so honestly *The Tin Drum* and brought an Oscar home for it and who dared to film Nicolas Born's *Fälschung* in the middle of the civil war in Beirut?

The French must have felt that they wanted a man who could surmount difficulties when they asked the Francophile German to make a film of the kind that frightened off such directors as Visconti, Joseph Losey and Peter Brook. "When *Swann in Love* was offered me I did not hesitate a moment," Schlöndorff says now, and he can be taken at his word.

Previous attempts to film this gigantic, complicated, many-faceted book (in English 15 volumes) faultered in trying to film the whole. Harold Pinter published a screenplay which is a piece of virtuoso compression, but Schlöndorff's film is only 110 minutes long from a script by Peter Brook, Jean-Claude Carrière and Marie-Hélène Estienne.

It is an episode *Swann in Love* from the first two volumes of *Swanns World*. It is just a fragment of the vast novel but it includes essential elements from the whole.

As in all Proust's works love is experienced as suffering and as a process of seld-destruction that ends in decay and death. "I think that it is an illness that can kill me. But at the same time I fear that I might be cured," Swann said of his feelings for the demi-mondaine Odette, a woman "who was not at all his type", but whom he loved obsessively.

That she was a member of the demi-mondaine world pf Paris and gave her favours to others made her all the more desirable. The interplay of devotion and distaste created in him a huge jealousy, longing, agony that was an imperative elixir to stimulate his love time and time again . . .

British actor Jeremy Irons plays the spoiled, restless, excitable Swann, based by Proust on the society dandy Charles Haas, one of the few Jews who because of his wealth gained admittance to the Paris salons of the aristocracy.

In the film's first scene, Swann waking up in the early afternoon, spells out his memory of the commencement of his relationship with Odette and her first visit to his apartment. Odette was quite amused to the delicate, complicated feelings Swann showed for her, treating her as if she were a hot-house plant.

Spontaneously and with some naively she revealed her love for him, but she was so deeply hurt by his arrogance and apparent disinterestedness, a sign of his shyness, that she quickly turned to other lovers.

Just at that moment when Swann's animal passion was awakened, he was suddenly evicted from his comfortable life of possessions. From then on he trailed at her heels, hounded her with jealous questions, for a whole evening he chased from restaurant to restaurant, along street after street like a wild horse until, late in the night, he lay in her arms.

He wanted to marry her so as to be sure of her, a course of action that would be for him a social and moral defeat, but that would be an enormous victory for Odette. In the last frames of the film we see her stepping out briskly in the Tuileries Gardens going across a small triumphal arch.

That is Swann's story as told by Volker Schlöndorff. He has captured Proust's cool, psychologically-searching style perfectly, a style that microscopic, that follows characters into their innermost depths through sleek, beautiful but non-committal filming. The luxurious settings almost suffocate the feelings described. Everying, from Swann's sumptuous surroundings, the salons of the demi-mondaine Odette's wardrobe, and even the genuine Cartier pearl necklaces she wears are perfect in detail with the period. But such perfection, such care for the absolutely genuine is fatal when the film does not allow time to go into anything in detail. The aristocratic society — made more piquant for French audiences by using real aristocrats as extras — paled into just a decorative frill when Proust's novel criticised these rich idlers harshly.



Volker Schlöndorff . . . no hesitation.

Jeremy Irons and Ornella Muti in *Recherche*.

(Photos: Concorde-Film)

Schlöndorff's insertion of a scene almost at the end of the film where Swann, ill, tells the Duchess (played by *Fanny Ardant*) *that he is about to die* and she, disbelieving him, just laughs is a small attempt to catch the mood of the novel.

The three main parts all have individual roles to play. Jeremy Irons gives a fine performance depicting Swann's restlessness — and he already has a role behind him involving an amour fou, *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, directed by Karel Reisz, where he appeared pale and dogged.

Ornella Muti, beautiful and well-built, is ideal physically for the purposeful, lively Odette. But the most impressive performance in the film is given by Alain Delon playing Charlus, Swann's friend. He plays to perfection the man who is outwardly cool but who has considerable inner sensibilities.

What is lacking in Schlöndorff's flawless film is any sense of interpretation, but it is not entirely without powerful, true-to-life elements.

Carla Rhode

(Der Tagesspiegel, 23 March 1984)

Helping East meet West in 79 inventive ways

More than 1,300 films were submitted to the Oberhausen short-film festival this year. Seventy nine were chose for showing. For 30 years, Oberhausen has been an important cinema event. It has the slogan *Der Weg zum Nachbarn* (Meeting Neighbours) and is aimed at bridging the gap between East and West.

This year's programme included films that were reflective, full of pathos, amusing and some just well-intentioned. All fulfilled the festival's slogan in various inventive ways.

Antonine Kachlik from Czechoslovakia posed the question "What is total commitment?" in his praiseworthy contribution. He is one of the eight million displaced Czechs who came to work in Germany as voluntary labour during the war.

Inspired by a visit to Oberhausen and a few other West German cities 41 years later he created a montage. He placed pictures from the past and the present next to each other and wrote a thoughtful commentary.

His reckless themes in which he draws parallels between his distress condition in 1942 and the isolation of Turkish "guestworkers" now amounts almost to the statement of a political credo and the Short-Film Festival is a forum for the expression of such political engagement.

Polish Chronicle/Non-Camera No 6 is an animated cartoon film made directly on to blank film with a sound track taken from the Polish television weekly news roundup.

The main figures move about like colourful molluscs. Shrewdly and wittily it pokes fun and economic shortages or certain Polish eating habits.

Hungarian Tibor Mathé produced a collage *Soldiers' Song* that depicted the full horror of threat by showing cuts of shock pictures of crashed aircraft interspersed with frames of desolate dolls and decorations.

From Holland there came a joke film, *A Good Turn Daily*, by Gerit van Dijk in which famous figures such as Hitler, Nixon, Castro and the Pope were turned into animated cartoon figures.

The high points of the festival were the documentary films shown from Poland, France and India. Jadwiga Zajicek in his *The Protocol of Annihilation* shows the various stations along the way of a life of sorrow.

An old farm woman who had all her life known nothing but toil, had been able to build, with the aid of her dumb husband, an unassuming cottage.

But when she fell behind with her taxes the cottage was appropriated by the state. Then the authorities put them in the hands of a drunk, amateur poet who took advantage of them.

The Protocol of Annhilation is a solid documentation of the humiliation of two people and how they lost their dignity. The authorities were at fault, cutting them off from society by redtape.

Ballad in G Minor shows the decline of a culture in beautiful, elegaic graduated frames. It is the vivacious life of miners who still sing their old songs in Wales and northern France. Director Kate Jons filmed his requiem for a dying generation against an industrial background.

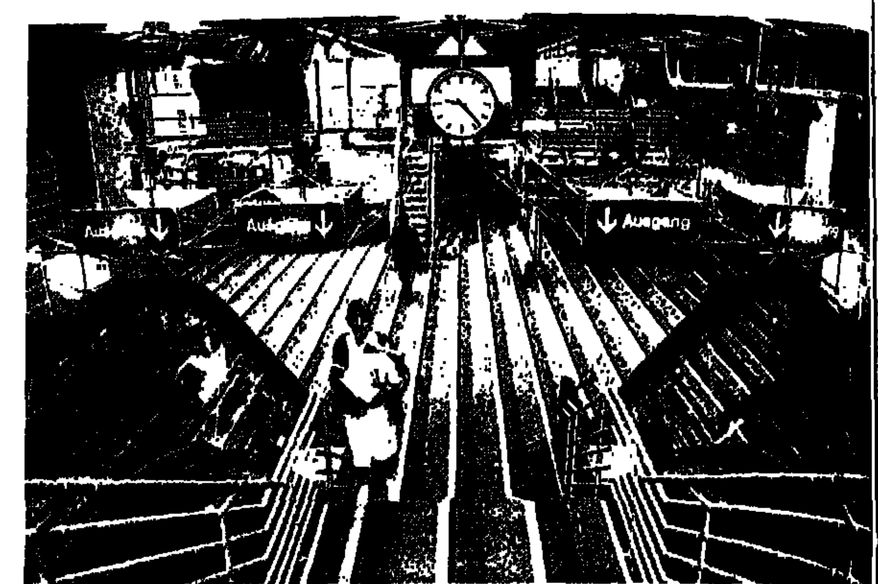
Michael Lentz

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 26 March 1984)

Thomas Carle was awarded the Film Journalists Prize for his film *The Sound of Freedom* at the Oberhausen Festival.

The prize carries with it a cheque for DM2,000. Christine Noll-Brinkmann received the prize for the best short-film 1983/1984 for *Half a Life*. The prize for the best documentary film was shared by Rolf Schübel for his *Obituary for a Beast* and Johann Feldt's *Attempt to Live*. Hille Köhne was given the experimental film 1984 prize for *Citrus Fruits*.





The hospital in Aachen which may never be full. (Photos: Poly-Press, Sven Si...)

■ PUBLIC WORKS

A hospital bill that could topple a government

Prime Minister Johannes Rau of North Rhine-Westphalia was livid. He reached for the telephone and arranged to be put through to someone in Bonn he has "never got on with and never will."

The man he rang was Jürgen W. Möllemann, Minister of State at the Foreign Office and Free Democratic leader on North Rhine-Westphalia.

Möllemann is determined to end the Social Democrats' absolute majority in the state assembly in May 1985 and form a coalition with the state CDU leader Bernhard Worms to replace Herr Rau as Prime Minister.

But that was not the reason for Rau's outburst of anger. ("I have never seen him as angry as that before," an eyewitness said.)

Rau was bitterly critical of Möllemann for blaming him for mistakes in connection with the enormously expensive white elephant of a new hospital in Aachen.

He accused the state FDP leader of making him responsible for the billion-deutschemark blunders in building the king-sized clinic.

"Brother Johannes even threatened to take me to court," Möllemann sarcastically commented, "for which I would naturally be extremely grateful."

The Prime Minister said he had naturally been annoyed at Möllemann's statement to the press, but he had never in the world threatened to take him to court.

Besides, it was regrettable that telephone calls were now quoted in public without prior agreement.

This anecdote is typical of the atmosphere at the state chancellery in Düsseldorf, the North Rhine-Westphalian capital, a fortnight after the Federal Audit Office's devastating criticism of the Aachen hospital project.

It is a sign of the nervousness of the last SPD state Premier in office with an absolute majority and of the remarkable fact that Rau seems for years to have accepted the soaring cost of the clinic as a somehow inevitable natural disaster.

He only grew angry when he was publicly held to be partly to blame. He can now expect to pay the penalty for years of neglect in the form of an embarrassing commission of enquiry.

A few weeks ago Rau sounded a note of gratitude when the Aachen hospital project was raised. It was at an evening meal with newspaper editors he attended, partly in his capacity as deputy leader of the SPD.

Mention was made of the 14-year-old building site where, in the section finally completed, hospital work recently began without much of a fanfare.

Rau praised the ugly, monstrous building in the witty, enthusiastic manner of which he is capable as a Calvinist minister's son from Wuppertal.

He wished none of those present ill, bur if one of the joutnalists ever had heart trouble he felt sure he would be asked to arrange for a bed in what he called the Mecca of medicine.

The assembled editors were suitably impressed. The Federal Audit Office in Frankfurt is also impressed, but unfavourably, and has been for years, by the barefaced insolence and stubborness with which the powers that be in Düsseldorf and former Bonn Cabinet Ministers have ignored increasingly urgent warnings.

Audit officers have found "gross errors, omissions and breaches of the rules in planning, implementing and managing" the project to have been largely to blame for the soaring cost of the clinic.

They repeatedly advised the Bonn government to stop all payments toward the cost of the hospital in view of the mismanagement for which North Rhine-Westphalia was to blame.

Bonn ought even, they argued, to sue Düsseldorf for reimbursement of funds already paid and misused. But while

Christ und Welt
Rheinischer Merkur

Helmut Schmidt was Chancellor these proposals were shelved and never made public.

Only SPD Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer felt obliged in 1980 to meet his legal and constitutional obligations. He considered taking North Rhine-Westphalia to court for a breach of Article 104 a of Basic Law.

This provision of the 1949 Bonn constitution would have allowed the government to take Düsseldorf to task for a gross breach of its duty to the Federal government to conduct administration in an orderly manner.

But this fact only came to light when Bonn Education Minister Dorothee Wilms, CDU, who is responsible in Bonn for the joint project, sounded the alarm.

In Matthöfer's day her predecessor, Jürgen Schmude, succeeded in averting a catastrophe. Social Democrat Schmude probably liaised with Herr Rau and the North Rhine-Westphalian Finance Minister, Diether Posser, with whom he used to practise law in Essen.

"On legal and factual grounds," he ruled, no further action was to be taken in the matter. It involved liabilities totalling an estimated several hundred million marks.

These moves, probably coordinated in the Chancellor's Office, have now come to light because the CDU-led government in Bonn is no longer eye-to-eye with the SPD government in Düsseldorf.

Besides, the Federal Audit Office has continued to criticise the Aachen project.

It first warned against approving further additional costs in 1978 when the governments in Bonn and Düsseldorf announced they would be sharing the cost.

That was at a stage when the original estimate had almost doubled from DM571m to DM917m, and the costs continued to spiral.

In March 1982 the university construction planning committee, consisting of Federal and state Higher Education and Finance Ministers, agreed to approve costs of up to DM1,678m.

The hospital covers a surface of 257 by 134 metres, equivalent in area to five football pitches, and with 1,500 beds was to be the largest in Europe.

The Federal Audit Office was told that the responsible authorities had checked and approved every item of expenditure.

That was a reference to the Science Council, but its role in the affair was merely to approve and recommend the figures previously decided on by Herr Schmude, Herr Matthöfer, Herr Posser and the then North Rhine-Westphalian Education Minister, Hans Schwier.

Or so the Federal Audit Office feels. The cost of the clinic has since skyrocketed still further, and experts say it will never be more than half-full.

If it were to operate on a break-even basis, a day's stay in the hospital would have to be charged at a rate of DM1,500.

The latest estimate is that the main building contractors will charge at least DM2.2bn for the project, including commission at 1.5 per cent.

This commission is yet another scandalous aspect of the terms negotiated with the state government in Düsseldorf, which failed to lay down a cost ceiling.

The Opposition in North Rhine-Westphalia seemed to have abandoned hope on the entire issue. For it the Audit Office's report came as a godsend.

CDU state assembly leader Bernhard Worms raised the issue in parliament and will probably soon insist on a commission of inquiry to carry on where its predecessor left off.

The first commission set up to look into the clinic ended its work inconclusively when the last state assembly reached the end of its term in 1980.

It had reached a majority decision on mistakes and blunders having been made, but failed to agree on who was to blame for them.

By a minority vote the CDU members of the commission found Herr Rau as Higher Education Minister and former Finance Minister Friedrich Halstenberg to have been to blame.

Herr Rau was certainly directly responsible for the hospital as Minister in charge of academic and scientific affairs.

But the vote had no political consequences. The probe by a new commission could well unearth more facts, especially as the main building contractors, the trade union-owned Neue Heimat group, are no longer taboo.

Last time round Albert Victor of Neue Heimat was treated with a rod of silk by the state assembly. This time the contractors are likely to have a rougher passage.

Herr Rau has commissioned a special appraisal from an Essen expert who concludes that in the early years of the project there was almost total neglect of planning and permission procedures.

In spite of extra inputs of cash the contractors failed to deliver the goods the state as paymaster might expect to receive.

Opportunities of completing the project ahead of time had been neglected. The appraisal recommends stopping certain payments to Neue Heimat.

North Rhine-Westphalia cannot afford to lay the blame on Neue Heimat. The group is in financial difficulty as it is, and its main creditor is the Westdeutsche Landesbank, which is wholly owned by North Rhine-Westphalia.

So the Mecca of medicine could still be a millstone round Rau's neck in the forthcoming election campaign.

If the Federal government does demand repayment of several hundred million marks by Düsseldorf and can prove Herr Rau to have been guilty of negligence he will be in trouble.

He would be liable to charges under Article 63 of the state constitution, and they could hardly come at a more inconvenient time. Small wonder "Brother Johannes" is livid!

Helmut Breuer

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 23 March 1984)

■ EDUCATION

Students take a make-believe look at role of local government

Students at a university in south Germany are taking part in a planning game as part of their studies in an effort to unearth practical problems of local government.

The students are at a specialised university in Ravensburg-Weingarten, in Baden-Württemberg.

Stefan, Leo and the others in the group are students. Students rarely worry themselves about the public image of an official organisation, but the position is that they are now themselves officials, at least for three days, and they identify themselves with their roles completely.

Since the beginning of this semester a "planning game" has been included in the course of lectures at the university in the sociology faculty.

The exercise hardly got under way and officials were under constant fire. Four girl students wrote for a "local newspaper", with editorial offices at the other end of the corridor, and they were not sparing in their criticisms of local government.

Under the headline "The Youth Office shows its cold bureaucratic heart. Can't something else be done? Mother deserts her children", the newspaper reported that "Silke Brepohl, 40, left her children Jürgen aged 14 and Carmen 16 on 15 September and moved into the city.

As the children told us their mother has been friendly for a number of years with a man with whom she has now gone to live."

Clumsily put, perhaps, although a fair statement of the facts the newspaper went on to report: "As usual young people are happy when parents can no longer exercise authority over them."

There were parties and noise and things were difficult for Frau Redselig, aged 68. No housework was done.

The result, according to the "local paper" was that the Youth Office threatened to put the young people in a home,



which was, in the paper's view, a fine example of a lack of understanding and sticking rigidly to the rules.

The "student officials" were not incensed. Stefan with a stubbly beard, Leo in flap trousers, Tina in a jumper she had knitted herself and Hermann in a polo-neck jumper set to and wrote a letter to the editor in the best officialese, cool in the best official manner.

In the middle of all this the door opened. Professor Walz (he is indeed a professor) has brought the post. Frau Brepohl confirms the newspaper report and Frau Redselig complained to the Youth Office directly.

Professor Walz later explained that any number of details had to pass through the hands of the exercise leadership, all the contacts between the various groups — the youth club, teachers and instructors, neighbours and relatives and the youth public assistance committee.

Only the press could be informed and usually proposals would be made and generally approved. "If informal contacts were possible," Professor Walz said justifying the formal measures of the exercise, "the matter could have been resolved more swiftly and with more care for human feelings so that thw whole weight of officialdom would not have been necessary."

Sigrid Russig-Kallfass, pedagogics professor, gave the reasons for having an exercise leadership and the bureaucratic structure of the exercise.

"It was an exercise in strategy so the structure that could be analysed afterwards was of considerable importance."

The course of decisions, the group strategy had to be intelligible, at least for the leadership, particularly in the final post mortem phase when the various way matters were handled and the judgments made by the participants could be examined and evaluated.

The origins of the exercise were clear — coming from the military sand table idea it was possible realistically to simulate the principal and the course of decisions in managerial training.

For a number of years youth and adult education has used this method in city and social planning. Only recently has this instruction method been used in the training of social workers and those studying pedagogics. Previously training was mainly theoretical and the practical side was only dealt with briefly.

Sigrid Russig-Kallfuss said criticising training that did not have enough to do with the practical side, "That is a problem for pedagogic experts, who can analyse everything and reflect on everything but they don't know what they should do."

"Strategic thinking" is to be taught at several specialist universities in Baden-Württemberg. Mock-up exercises in social planning are now regularly being mounted in Esslingen and Freiburg. In Weingarten every student is taking part in such an exercise twice, with something like 50 taking part at any one time.

And what do the students think of this? "Good fun," said Brigitte. "A good was to learn," said Harald. "Nonsense," said Conny from the press department. "Stress instead of studying."

She was not quite happy with the part she had to play. "We had to ensure that our newspaper really stirred things up and hardly had we got an article ready than it was overtaken by events."

Realistic? There was scepticism about this. "It was all too par," one of the students said. In the end the mother comes back and gets a larger flat. "In real life one has to do a lot more to get things moving."

But at least the exercise left one overriding impression on the students. "You won't believe this," said one of the girl participants on the second morning, "but I dreamt about it last night."

Hans-Ulrich Grimm

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 20 March 1984)

Volkswagen Foundation hands out more cash study grants

The Volkswagen Foundation is to extend its grants programme.

Biologists, chemists, doctors, social scientists and those involved in American studies will benefit.

A grant is to be made to young German scientists interesting in investigating the biological causes of forest damage. Successful specialists in arboreal pathology will be given the opportunity to study at a domestic university or in Canada or Australia.

The grant to qualified chemists is aimed at allowing researchers greater mobility. The grant lays down that they will be obliged to prepare a dissertation at some other university in the Federal Republic other than the one they are attending.

Another programme is to be offered to young technicians who have already worked as doctors assistants to pursue experimental and theoretical studies in Britain or the United States.

In order to help those studying American life and culture five grants will be offered annually, each for a period of three years, under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies, so that the applicants can improve their qualifications.

The Foundations is to offer grants to young social scientists to study further at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

Details of the new spending programme was announced after a meeting

Frankfurter Allgemeine

of Foundation trustees. Thirty seven of eighty odd proposals for research projects were accepted: the cost will be DM16.3 million.

The secretary-General's permanent representative and head of the Foundation's central administrative body, Werner Seifart, pointed out that in 1983 more than DM119 million was made available to promore science and technology research and teaching.

He said that the Foundation would do everything possible to provide a similar sum to promote research this year, "and perhaps a little more" if there were other research projects that were worth assisting.

Apart from the emphasis on North American studies the governing body of the Foundation decided to give greater emphasis to the teaching and training in engineering. Support for studies in archaeometry and South-East Asian affairs would only be continued until 1983.

Support for studies involving the Third World will be extended to include science and research.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 March 1984)



■ MEDICINE

Hepatitus to liver cancer, a mother-to-child cycle

DIE WELT

Liver cancer is the most common form of cancer in the Third World. It is being fought in parts of Asia and central Africa with an extensive programme of vaccination.

Although scientific evidence is not yet fully complete, it can be assumed that about 80 per cent of liver cancers can be traced back to hepatitus B virus infection.

Delegates to an international symposum in San Francisco heard Taiwanese authorities describe the pattern of the fatal hepatitus. A large part of the population there are carriers. That is, they have the virus, but show no symptoms of the disease.

At childbirth, the mother passes the virus on to the baby. It is estimated that in many countries in the Far East, every second baby inherits the virus.

Boys are especially at risk. Half the men infected as babies die from liver ailments, either cirrhosis or cancer.

Fourteen per cent of the women who are carriers die from degeneration of the liver. And the virus is passed on to the children.

The aim of the vaccination campaign is to break this vicious cycle. Newly born children are vaccinated to enable them to develop antibodies and thus immunity.

A big problem is cost. It is much too high for many countries that are most heavily affected. So strenuous efforts are being made to develop a cheaper vaccine.

The present vaccination is obtained from the blood plasma of the mute carriers. This must first be cleaned. Now it will become possible to manufacture the vaccine through genetic engineering.

The material responsible for the building of the vaccination antigen has already been isolated, Gen S. The antigen begins to be produced after Gen S is introduced to the hepatitus bacteria.

The first of these vaccines has been produced using normal bakers yeast as a sort of metabolism factory.

Professor Friedrich Deinhardt, of the Max von Pettenkofer Institute, in Munich, told the symposium that initial tests show that very low doses will be enough for reliable protection.

He estimates that enough vaccine will be available for widespread use within two years.

An American researcher, Bernard Moss, of Bethesda, Maryland, caused something of a sensation when he revealed a new way of making vaccinations.

He used the smallpox vaccination. Genes of the smallpox virus was introduced to genes of hepatitus and the resulting virus injected into mice. The mice developed antobodies against hepatitus B.

Tests with champanzees indicated that this method was succeeding, said Moss, but it would be some years before it was clinically ready.

Moss also maintains that the controlled smallpox virus can also be used against other infectious illnesses such as herpes and possibly also influenza.

There was a strong reaction to his observations. He set off a lot of intense discussion and caused a lot of scepticism. Few delegates accepted what he said as feasible.

However, Moss reacted calmly. He said the smallpox virus was a known quantity and therefore it was known what complications might arise from it.

In addition, the virus was easy to breed and freeze dry. It was therefore ideal for use in the Third World. The World Health Organisation had encouraged him to keep going.

The Chinese are also working on a hepatitus vaccination that can be produced cheaply for their own extensive needs.

How is it that liver cancer develops 30 or 40 years after hepatitus B infection? Researchers are trying to find out. They are using new genetic engineering methods to try and find a connection between the cancer cells and the genetic sequence of the hepatitus B virus. So far, no clinical connection has been established.

Professor Peter Hans Hofschneider, of the Max Planck Institute for biochemistry in Munich, reported a strange observation involving the hepatitus gene in the liver cells.

He suspected that the virus established itself not in a part of the nucleus of the liver cell, but that it actually wandered to some extent until it found a critical point. There it began its degenerating process.

That didn't necessarily mean that cancer would follow. The body's immune system normally was in a position to destroy the affected cells.

Hofschneider: "It is conceivable that it takes 30 years or more before a critical point is reached and before the resulting micro tumour eludes the control of the immune system."

Jochen Aumiller

(Die Welt, 17 March 1984)

Better view of the body's bits and pieces

Normal X-ray pictures are not always absolutely clear. Often a contrast medium, usually an iodine compound, is used to improve the definition.

A new computer tomography technique, nuclear magnetic resonance imaging, faces similar problems. It is a system which is being tested in various German hospitals.

At the end of last year, the Free Berlin University Clinic became the first university in Germany to use nuclear magnetic resonance imaging with a superconductive magnet.

Now it is, in conjunction with the Schering company, experimenting with improving definition.

Nuclear resonance in many cases produces better pictures of sections of the body from any plane required. It uses the magnetic properties of the nucleus of the hydrogen atom, the proton.

When they are in a strong magnetic field, the protons arrange themselves like small compass needles. They are then pushed out of their position through the beaming of high-frequency impulses.

They return to their original positions at speeds which vary depending on the chemical and physical nature of their environment, in this case the human body. This time elapsed is measured in terms of grey tone on the picture. The tone variations enable the various components to be seen.

The researchers want to influence the contrast. A suitable means are paramagnetic atoms, which can influence the magnetic behaviour of the protons, and therefore the time of adjustment, or "relaxation time".

Schering opted for gadolinium, an element from a group of oxides of rare earth elements with particularly strong paramagnetic properties.

In the form of stable complex formation with DTPA (diethylen-triamino-penta-ascetic acid), gadolinium is benign.

In experiments with animals, gadolinium-DTPA produced more easily recognisable pictures of tumours and inflammation spots.

Volunteers were next used. Healthy human guinea pigs were tested under

Frankfurter Allgemeine

the supervision of Professor R. Felix at Charlottenburg hospital, Berlin.

There were no adverse effects on the volunteers. There were no allergic reactions and no problems were observed with their blood chemistry.

Patients are now being tested. Certain brain tumours which normally appear as dark areas in tomography pictures because of their weak signals have given much clearer signals with the new contrast medium.

The new medium reaches areas of affected tissue that blood cannot reach and changes the magnetic behaviour of the tissue.

These first clinical experiments have encouraged hope that this process will produce results similar to those of iodine compounds with conventional X-rays.

Gadolinium-DTPA also makes it easier to check how organs are functioning. Until now, it has not been possible, for example to see if the kidneys are eliminating waste properly, but using a small amount of the new medium makes this possible.

The substance seems to be ful of possibilities for doctors.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 March 1984).

Sports training brings relief for asthmatics

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Sports training can considerably he… asthmatics, tests in Britain ha… shown. Research in Hamburg have pro… duced similar conclusions.

Alan Pascoe, who won an Olymp… silver medal for Britain in the 400 metres hurdle relay event in Munich 1972, is… asthmatic.

He was two years old when docto… discovered the fact. As a child he wa… weak and often ridiculed.

At the age of 14 he began track-and field training and noticed not only th… his physical capabilities improved, b… also that his confidence and sense of wellbeing increased.

Researchers at the British sports u… versity at Loughborough have reveal… that the incidence of asthma reduc… drastically among highly trained athl… tes.

In 1978, Pascoe gave up competiti… sport — and the training that goes wi… it. The asthma has returned and he g… frequent attacks.

In many parts of Britain, systema… training under physiotherapists is no… given to asthmatic children.

Hamburg University's children cl… has carried out similar training duri… school holidays. Bodo Niggemann, wh… is in charge of the programme, says th… results so far are highly promising.

The incidence of asthma varies in th… industrialised nations. Fison, the Briti… drug company, estimates that about… per cent of adults and up to 14 per ce… of children in Britain suffer from it.

Research into the origins of asth… have not progressed far. It is often co… nected with allergic reactions, for exa… ple against pollen, medicines and dus…

The allergens have an effect on ce… cells in the lungs and allows them… "degranulate". The cells spring op… and release the hormone histamine. Hi… tamine causes certain muscles, partic… larly in the bronchia, to contract. Sho… age of breath is one symptom.

Mental problems or infection can als… lie at the root of asthma. At the mome… it cannot be cured. But regular physi… training can certainly help.

Phillip Marsh

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 March 19…)

■ YOUTH

Sociologists say they're not a generation of drop-outs

Frankfurt sociologists say there is no truth in cliches that young people are "no future" rebels and social drop-outs.

They have carried out a survey of what young people think and how they feel about life in 1984 and prospects in the 1990s.

Their report, *Leben '84*, contradicts widely held views that today's youngsters are teased out, resigned and hold little hope for the future.

Boys and girls aged 16 to 18, the lost generation of the computer age, are wrongly reputed to be dropouts in an era of which unemployment is the hallmark.

In reality they are not much less optimistic and future-orientated than their parents' generation.

Sociologists Klaus Allerbeck and Wendy J. Hoag supervised the survey, which was carried out last year by Infratest, the market research organisation.

It was funded by a DM700,000 grant from the Volkswagen Foundation.

In 199 cities, towns and villages 2,066 boys and girls aged 16 to 18 were asked about how they live now and what they expect of the future.

Comparison was made with a similar survey in 1962. It is strikingly apparent that in spite of youth unemployment and the uncertainty caused by technical career prospects, today's teenagers have greater confidence in the future than teenagers 22 years ago.

Only 24 per cent of boys and 18.4 per cent of girls in the early 1960s felt a boom lay ahead compared with 41.2 per cent of boys and 29.8 per cent of girls now.

Wrong assumption

A further 26 per cent of boys and 30.2 per cent of girls feel the situation will not deteriorate in the foreseeable future. Only 32.8 per cent of young men and 40 per cent of young women took a gloomy view.

Their personal attitude toward work has not been as hard hit by automation (and the meaninglessness of job routines for the individual) as is widely assumed, especially by sociologists.

The percentage of young people who view work as a prerequisite of a happy life has declined from 42 per cent in 1962 to 38 per cent in 1983.

Just as many young people today enjoy their jobs. In 1962 the figure was over 80 per cent; in 1983 it was 82.4 per cent.

Well over half (57.8 per cent) are satisfied with their job training. The listless, no-hope brigade at work account for only 0.5 per cent, or an insignificant minority.

Friction between generations seems mainly to be based on misunderstanding. Allerbeck and Hoag have found contact between generations to be steadily declining.

Young people have little to do with adults, and mainly just parents and teachers. This lack of contact leads to misunderstanding. Most youngsters feel misunderstood by grown-ups.

Yet the generations still manage to understand each other fairly well where contacts are still maintained, at home for instance.

Most young people claim to get on well with their parents, although the sense of inner harmony within the family is not what it was.

In 1962 many more boys and girls felt that they and their parents loved each other and meant everything to each other. The figures were 44.2 per cent for mothers and 24.4 per cent for fathers.

Daughters' disputes

By last year the figures had slumped to 15.3 and 6.2 per cent respectively. Relations between fathers and daughters have become much more strained.

In 1962 18.8 per cent of girls had occasional disputes with their fathers. Now one in three do.

A cause (or possibly an effect) of the rift caused by lack of contact between the generations is the trend among young people to be guided by their own generation.

The proportion of youngsters who belong to a group of one kind or another has increased from16 per cent in 1962 to 57 per cent today. The desire to get married has declined slightly: from 79.2 to 69.2 per cent among boys and from 91.3 to 76.6 per cent among girls. Yet the percentage who want to have children has remained almost constant. A major difference between then and now is how young people feel about living together without (or as a test for) getting married.

In 1962 the idea was still taboo. Now 84 per cent of boys and 80 per cent of girls intend to live together with a partner before deciding whether or not to wed.

Boys and girls are equally in favour of maried women carrying on working. Nearly all expect them to.

Views on politics are largely in favour of the present system in its basic values. Seventy-four per cent of boys plan to serve as conscripts in the armed forces.

Yet just over 50 per cent are opposed to Nato missile deployment.

Party-political preferences voiced include 36.5 per cent for the Christian Democrats (as against 45.3 per cent in 1962) and 33.2 per cent for the Social Democrats (as against 25 per cent).

H. Kannenberg

(Die Welt, 17 March 1984)



Optimism at work

(Photo: Poss)

Politicians pictured as the villains of the piece

Are young people today a television generation? There is much to suggest not.

Deutsche Shell runs an arts competition for people aged 12 to 24.

Fifteen thousand entries in the latest competition showed clearly that many young people are keen on literature and art.

The range of entries extended from committed letters and sensitive poems, from school essays and diaries to fantastic fairy tales, and from amateur paintings and cartoons to videotapes.

The competition was supervised by Professor Jürgen Zinnecker of Marburg University. He sees the wide range of entries as typical of young people's outlook on life, of a philosophy based on humanistic idealism.

Many comments testify to an aversion to materialism and the vicissitudes of everyday life, including the shortage of apprenticeships and work of any kind.

But in comparison with peace and the environment these are issues that play only a minor role, he says.

Young people's view of society is, unlike that of the student unrest generation of the late 1960s, generally critical of civilisation.

They particularly object to an egoistic society using performance as a yardstick, to the world of "mask-wearers," to the cold logic of the mind and to loneliness and death.

Portrayals of the future as seen by many young people are said to be governed by a gloomy view that the end of the world is nigh.

German youth as seen by German youth

(Photo: Deutsche Shell)

Yet there is a certain ambivalence in that this feeling contradicts the sense most youngsters have of being personally in a good mood and disposed to be active rather than resigned.

Young people's plan for life are extremely conventional, especially the very young, with the emphasis on a home, children and marriage.

A surprising number are said to seek something firm to hold on to in the form of a secure private life.

This hope placed in private life and expectation of personal happiness must not be equated with a lack of interest in politics.

The enemy and scapegoat, say the young, is not businessmen or their parents. It is the politicians.

Peace and the environment are topics on which a very private view is taken. It is not one that corresponds to conventional cliches.

Many young people equate power, hatred and profit as harbingers of death. The concept they mostly set against them is love.

Professor Zinnecker says this shows a pragmatic alienation of young people from politicians. Most youngsters feel they are the custodians of imagination.

The findings of the competition form part of the tenth youth report commissioned by Deutsche Shell and due for publication next spring.

It will be part of International Youth Year. There are plans to arrange a touring exhibition of 150 entries to the Shell competition that were shown in Bremen at the end of March.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 March 1984)